

THE MILITANT

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see pages 4,5,6,7,8, and 9

Seattle Black Panther Party to run two candidates for state assembly

By Debbie Leonard and Will Reissner

SEATTLE—E.J. Brisker, minister of education of the Seattle Black Panther Party, told a crowd of nearly 100 at a Militant Labor Forum sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance here July 5 that the Panthers will be running independent black candidates for the state legislature this fall.

On July 7 Black Panther captain Aaron Dixon officially announced the candidates at a rally of over 100 young Afro-Americans. The two candidates will be Brisker and Curtis Harris, Black Panther minister of defense, and they will run in the black community's 37th district, challenging two white Democratic incumbents and a black Democratic candidate supported by the 37th-district Democratic Committee.

Brisker is well-known in Seattle as a leader of the University of Washington Black Student Union and Seattle SNCC. Dixon, who announced the candidates at an outdoor rally, was recently sentenced to six months in jail along with two other defendants on charges stemming from a sit-in at Franklin High School. They are planning to appeal their convictions. (See July 5 *Militant*.)

E.J. Brisker, speaking at the rally, projected the independent Black Panther campaign as "the start of something very big—a history-making event." He pointed out that this was the first time the Black

Panther Party was running a political campaign in its own name. The campaign will be based on the Black Panther Party's 10-point program which calls for "freedom and power to control the destiny of the black community" and demands full employment, decent housing, exemption from the draft and decent education for Afro-Americans.

The program further demands an end to the robbery of the black community by white businessmen, an end to police brutality, the release of all black prisoners and trial of Afro-Americans by their peers—Afro-Americans of similar age and economic status.

Locally, the Black Panther Party is calling for a civilian police review board, composed of members chosen by the community, with the power to subpoena, obtain police records, and indict cops for brutality. They are also demanding that several Afro-American "public defenders" be on call whenever needed to counsel arrested black citizens.

Brisker stressed that the focal point of the program is "black control of the black community"—control of housing, radio, newspapers, cops, schools, businesses, places of entertainment. "There should be a Malcolm X movie theatre, a Malcolm X coffee house and Martin Luther King and

(Continued on page 3)

Student Mobilization, Resistance picket Humphrey in Philadelphia

By Fred Feldman

PHILADELPHIA—The Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee and Philadelphia Resistance organized a demonstration of over 100 to march and leaflet here, as Hubert Horatio Humphrey addressed the traditional annual patriotic "event" at Independence Hall. Since the demonstration was called on only two days' notice, the turnout surprised many participants.

The group enthusiastically chanted "Bring the troops home now" and other antiwar slogans. Among the signs were "Hubert Humphrey—wanted for war

crimes" and "Support our GIs—bring them home alive."

Speakers who addressed those gathered to hear Humphrey included Rich Feigenberg of SMC, Josh Markel of Resistance and Swarthmore professor Thompson Bradley.

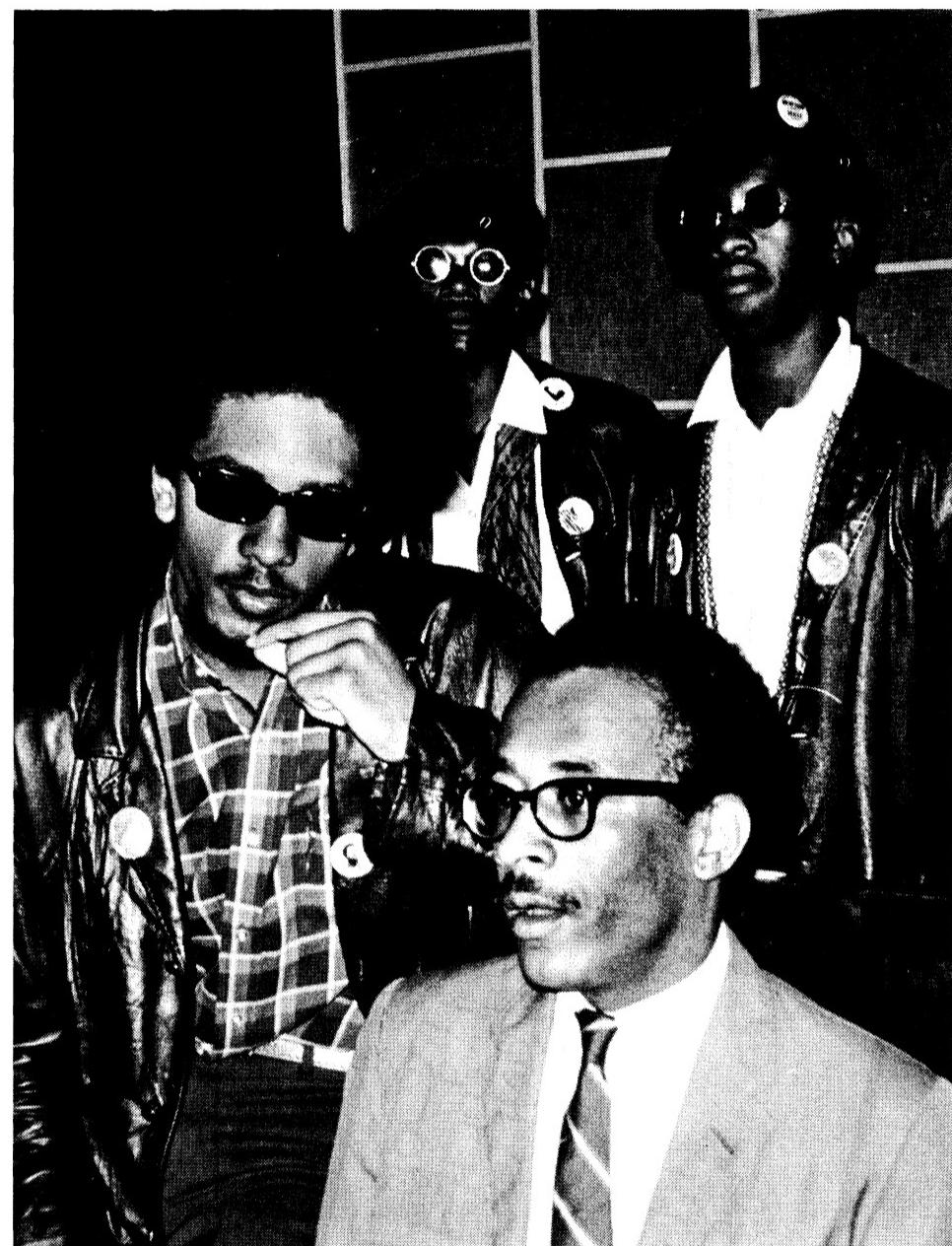
During the previous July 4 Independence Hall demonstrations the police had arrested leafletters. This time, Resistance won a significant victory for civil liberties by coming armed with an injunction directing the police not to make arrests for leafleting.

SUPPORT OUR GIs
BRING THEM
HOME ALIVE!



photo by Bruce Marcus

PICKET HUMPHREY. July 4 demonstration in Philadelphia.



CANDIDATE. E.J. Brisker (front) at meeting announcing his candidacy for state assembly. Also nominated by the Black Panther Party was Curtis Harris. To the left of Brisker is Black Panther captain Aaron Dixon, and behind him are two unidentified members of the Black Panther Party.

Black transit workers lead Chicago strike

By Dan Styron

CHICAGO, July 9—Waymon Benson, a leader of the transit strike which paralyzed Chicago's transportation system over the Fourth of July weekend, announced today that a telegram has been sent to the International Transit Workers Union demanding that Chicago Amalgamated Transit Local 241 be placed in receivership pending new elections of union officers. This is the latest in a series of dramatic moves by the Concerned Transit Workers, a well-organized, predominantly black caucus, which is successfully challenging the transit union's present leadership.

A wildcat strike was called the evening of July 2 by the Concerned Transit Workers, following an unusually heated regular membership meeting of Local 241. In the course of the meeting, a motion was made to end the practice of allowing retired workers to vote at regular union meetings. After the local's leadership refused to take either a standing vote or

a vote by secret ballot, the meeting was adjourned. Dissatisfied members remained, and after discussing their grievances, they called for a wildcat strike effective immediately.

Waymon Benson said that the leadership of the union was not representing the interests of the bus drivers. The leadership hasn't been fighting for safer equipment and cleaner working conditions, for an end to three-piece work schedules on weekends, and for regular procedures in handling customer complaints and disciplinary action against transit workers.

Bureaucratic Leadership

Standing in the way of these and other demands, he stated, is a conservative leadership backed by the 3,500 retired workers. This leadership doesn't represent the 8,340 working bus drivers. To change this situation, the Concerned Transit Workers demand that only those presently working be allowed to vote at regular union meetings. The Concerned

(Continued on page 9)

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Vol. 32—No. 29

126

Friday, July 19, 1968



(The Madman)

A reprint of a cartoon magazine put out by French students (Action Committee No. 1) on the revolutionary developments there. This edition, published by Berkeley, Calif., radical bookstore "Granma," contains English translations and explanations.

A nonprofit project published in solidarity with the revolutionary students of France.

16 pages 50¢ two colors

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Moncada Garrison, 15 years ago

Day of Solidarity with Cuban people

Havana, Cuba

As you well know, the 15th anniversary of the assault on the Moncada Garrison will be commemorated on the 26th of July, 1968, the year that was proclaimed by the Cuban people in a mass rally as the Year of the Heroic Guerrilla, in posthumous homage to Major Ernesto Che Guevara, embodiment of the highest expression of proletarian internationalism of our day.

On that 26th of July in 1953, a group of young people, continuers of the heroic fighting traditions of the Cuban people, convinced of the justice of their cause and certain of final victory, struck at the powerful military garrison of the Batista tyranny.

Fifteen years have elapsed since the beginning of our struggle, and almost 10 since the triumph of our last liberating feat, and yet the Cuban people live under the perpetual menace of its century-old enemy, Yankee imperialism—the great genocide of the Vietnamese people, the greatest exploiter of all the people of the Third World.

The inhuman blockade of our country by the U.S. that is intended to force our revolution to the most complete isolation from our brothers of Latin America, of Asia, of Africa, and from our friends in Europe, makes even more difficult the already difficult task of overcoming underdevelopment.

To help us defeat this isolation, to help us defeat the blockade, we count on the militant solidarity of our friends of all countries, who are the friends of the Vietnamese people, the friends of all the just causes of humanity. On this 15th anniversary of the assault on the Moncada Garrison, International Day of Solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, we hope that you, whom we count among our friends, will express your friendship, your support of our cause, by actively participating in the acts of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution that surely will be celebrated in your country, or, if it is within your possibilities, by helping to organize talks, conferences, expositions, parties, etc.

We express our appreciation and thanks, and reiterate that the Cuban people, faithful to the example of Che, faithful to the example of the heroes of Moncada, will remain firmly on the road that they have undertaken, under the leadership of our Commander in Chief, Fidel Castro.

EVER ONWARD TO VICTORY!

Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples

Likes French coverage

Philadelphia, Pa.

Your coverage of the French Revolution of '68 was very good. Please continue with more articles on the European revolutionary movement.

T. R. B.

Workers talk back to steel union tops

Detroit, Mich.

Steelworkers are the most poorly informed workers. A great gap separates the steelworkers from the top union echelons, who hardly inform them about the developing contract situation. Inherent in such gaps as this there is always the possibility of an unexpected explosive potential.

Illustrative of the need for expressing their will was a letter-writing campaign initiated in one

plant where I work. Initiated by an ex-mineworker with a flair for writing, letters were sent individually to I. W. Abel [president of the United Steel Workers]. Said one: "I can't believe, sir, that you will be content to agree to the continuation of our bowing to . . . political pressures applied to our union, resulting in the shameful economic position we hold in our community."

Another: "Do you realize that nearly half our people work for less than \$2.75 an hour? Are we giving up all hopes to regain the protection of the cost-of-living clause?"

Another: "As our . . . principal spokesman, don't you think a more concrete statement of our aims in the coming contract negotiations should be issued; to bolster the sagging confidence . . . in your determination to lead us to individual solvency?"

"The loss of hope for a future in the economic sun is . . . destroying faith and pride in . . . the higher echelons of our union leadership." And more such appeals and explanations about conditions on the job.

Henry Austin

Revisionist demon

Chicago, Ill.

Although I found in *The Militant* a very penetrating grasp of the economic, political and social condition of the West, *The Militant* is disappointingly lacking in any insight into the "edge" of global revolution that is sweeping man into a new era of humanity—the cultural revolution.

This is unfortunate and suicidal for a paper that ascribes to radical revolution—especially in the context of the U.S., where all the old bourgeois images that Americans have lived out of are crumbling in the face of the urbanization, computerization and secularization of their homeland. Who is that body of troops that is going to forge out the new image of man? Who will embody the new life-style that is demanded in our times?

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

I am clear that this is the key to the spirit sickness of the West and thus the area where revolutionaries must concentrate their work in strategy, tactics, forces, etc.

Thus I am not criticizing *The Militant's* competence in the areas with which it deals—political and economic. As a whole, though, it is not comprehensive, in failing to deal with the radical mutations of the sense (scientific), style (urban) and symbols (secular) that are overwhelming the East and the West as the cultural revolution brings the economic and political structures of society to their knees.

This is the imperative that I see for *The Militant* and socialists in general. Socialism as it was known in the past is dead, just as the western society from which it sprung is dead. What is needed is something similar to Mao's cultural revolution and the Red Guard—the elite troops of the movement where the yellow man's basic insight into life has been attacked and he has been forced to come to deal with the urban, scientific world into which he is being ushered. This is radical revolution. Everything short of this is revisionistic and perhaps more of a demon to bringing off a global revolution than the bureaucrats or the police can ever be.

R. J. E.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

(If you are interested in the ideas of socialism, you can meet socialists in your city at the following addresses.)

CALIFORNIA: Atascadero: YSA, Bill Blau, P.O. Box 1061, Atascadero.

Berkeley-Oakland: Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 2519A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 94704. (415) 849-1032.

Colusa: YSA, John Montgomery, 1107 Jay St., Colusa 95932.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.

San Diego: San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2221, San Diego 92112.

San Francisco: Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S.F. 94114. (415) 552-1266.

Santa Rosa: Young Socialist Alliance, Stefan Bosworth, 808 Spencer.

GEORGIA: YSA, P.O. Box 6262, Atlanta, Ga. 30308. (404) 872-1612.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington. Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Station A, Champaign, Ill. 61820.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago 60606. (312) 939-5044.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Russel Block, 207 East 2nd St., Bloomington 47401. 339-4640.

Evansville: YSA, Ronald Hicks, c/o Lyles, 638 E. Missouri, Evansville.

Indianapolis: Halstead-Boutelle Campaign, P.O. Box 654, Indianapolis, Indiana, 46206.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, Toby Rice, 2402 Calvert St., Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (617) 876-5930.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall,

3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Mike Maniskalco, 614 Michigan, Apt. 2. 351-0970.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone EV 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark 07101.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, Irving Sherman, 26 Willett St., Albany 12210.

New York City: Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N.Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: Cleveland: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

Kent: YSA, Roy S. Inglee, 123 Water St. N., Kent 44240. 673-7032.

Yellow Springs: Antioch YSA, Michael Schreiber, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs 45387. 767-5511.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila. 19130. (215) CE 6-6998.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Ave., Austin.

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2236.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-3537.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 3 Thomas Circle, N.W., 2nd floor, Washington, D.C., 20005. (202) 332-4635.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle 98105. (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 202 Marion St. (608) 256-0857.

'The crisis continues'- U.S. reporter in Paris

We reprint below excerpts from an article by Joseph Barry, which appeared in the July 4 issue of The Village Voice. Joseph Barry is a former columnist for the New York Post and is now living in Paris.

PARIS, June 29—Will there be barricades this fall? De Gaulle had a [parliamentary] majority in May, and parliament was beside the point. A stronger majority could mean greater tension, a conflict of different powers. The crisis continues. If anything, it worsens.

It was a strange experience to go day after day not only to the Sorbonne, but also to the Citroen automobile plant. After the greatest strike in French history with the largest classical gains in wages and hours, the workers returned to work with an extraordinary combination of bitterness and combativity. They felt robbed . . . We may be seeing in France the first working-class rejection of what we blithely call the consumer's society . . . As much as the products, they want a share in the production. Already the Communist-led CGT [General Federation of Labor] is losing ground to the Catholic-led CFDT [French Democratic Federation of Labor], because the latter is talking of human and moral demands, of the very nature of the assembly line and the voiceless workers on it. The French workers . . . have a sense of alienation as acute as the French students, but not yet as clear.

So de Gaulle returns with his majority reinforced and the workers and students with their sense of nothing gained and everything to be recommended. There is a new beat in the Latin Quarter meetings to a kind of syncopated tune: "It's only the beginning. Let's continue to fight!" But you hear it too in the factory suburbs, briefer: "Wait until fall!" The workers are edgy. You don't read about it in the papers, but there are work stoppages at the drop of what they consider a disregard, a disrespect, a violation of the human condition.

The elections are over . . . Parliament will once again be sitting, not in judgment, but on trial. Parliament as a peaceful means to reform has thus far failed, and it may not have much farther to go. Power this fall will probably be back in the street and more importantly, the factory—it is here France differs so much from any other country that has known student revolt.

And then what will the government do with its parliamentary majority that it couldn't do in May? If de Gaulle has electoral power, the workers, May taught

Appeal for aid to French revolutionists

The French revolutionary organizations banned by the de Gaulle regime are waging a struggle to regain their rights. They are fighting for the right to exist and to function—to speak, hold meetings, to publish newspapers—without the threat of arrest which now hangs over them for simply exercising their rights.

An international solidarity campaign in behalf of the victims of the Gaullist repression has been set in motion in Belgium. An international solidarity fund has been established to make it possible for the French revolutionists to carry on their fight against the ban.

Emil Van Ceulen, a veteran leader of the Belgian labor movement, who is secretary of the fund, has made an appeal for contributions, which are needed immediately. He asked that checks be made out to Emil Van Ceulen, and sent to him, care of Fonds de Solidarite contre la Repression en France, 111 Avenue Seghers, Brussels 8, Belgium.

them, have worker power, and the students, who did the teaching, have the detonating power. De Gaulle, however, has the police and the army and surely the impression, after the election, of popularity . . . (The parallel to the American experience is striking: the failure of Congress, the possibility of a no-choice election, the return of the students to the streets. And is there a sense of alienation among the workers that might suddenly surface, as in France?)

Before deciding on elections, de Gaulle had gone to Baden-Baden to consult with his generals, particularly Massu . . . The next day a brigade of tanks were moving through the Paris suburbs, but were unused because unneeded—the CGT persuaded the workers to go back to work, promising victory at the polls . . .

The Spanish falangist paper *Arriba* has already saluted de Gaulle as a fellow-falangist. It is premature, if not inaccurate. De Gaulle is Gaullist. During the high point of May, a young revolutionary Marxist had asked me whether de Gaulle might not revert to the French army to keep himself in power. "Never," I said. "It's not in his character. He despises the military, and besides he broke the French army." So much for character analysis versus Marxist analysis . . .



photo by Hermes
WORKERS MARCH. When leaders of CP finally called on workers to march May 29, 800,000 rank-and-file unionists turned out in display of desire for fundamental change.

French weekly reports on revolutionary youth

The following, which we have translated from the French, is a section of a longer article entitled, "The Troublemakers," by Katia D. Kaupp, from the June 19 issue of *Le Nouvel Observateur*, a widely read Paris weekly. The complete article describes the various left-wing youth groups in France and the attitude of each during the May revolutionary crisis. We reprint here that portion of the article which discusses the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth).

Finally, the JCR—Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Youth) . . . It is mostly made up of youth previously thrown out of the UEC—Union des Etudiants Communistes [Union of Communist Students]. They were expelled in 1965 for refusing to support Francois Mitterrand's candidacy [a petty-bourgeois "left" politician backed by the CP in the French presidential elections]. Their paper is *Avant-Garde Jeunesse* (Vanguard Youth). With them, as with the "anars" [slang for anarchists], you can be comfortable. These are nice people, good-humored, cheerful, "civilized": "You want to see us? All right, whenever you want. We meet every evening in the Guizot auditorium."

A meeting—and posters in all the corridors, everywhere, to inform people of it. Everybody agrees: "The JCR is doing a fantastic job at the Sorbonne." The Guizot auditorium has been full every evening. There the JCR would conduct a "course" in history or current events, rather similar to the education the students would like in their colleges. These sessions were always followed by enthusiastic discussion, and the enthusiasm was contagious.

Alain Krivine, Henri Weber, and Daniel Bensaïd took turns. Krivine is a doctoral candidate in history. He has a warm voice, a black mane of hair, and wears a nautical-style outfit. He looks half like a prophet and half like a Central European intellectual. Weber is preparing a thesis for a master's degree in sociology. He has blue-black eyes and hair. Bensaïd has a BA in philosophy and is writing a thesis on a topic that is quite apropos: "Lenin's Concept of the Revolutionary Crisis!" With gold-flecked, mischievous eyes, he is the most relaxed.

All of them have an extraordinary gift for extemporaneous speaking—what a difference from the pretailored speeches of our radio-television candidates! And their political knowledge is faultless.

When they hold a big public meeting, before it starts the JCR members on the platform hum the "Chant des Marais" [a French revolutionary song] through to the end: the entire hall then breaks out in the first two stanzas of the "Internationale." This is already more powerful than in the "united" marches.

But a JCR meeting is first of all a work session. Serious, well-documented work without wasted talk. But it is also a display of intellectual fireworks. It is, furthermore, a *public* meeting. Anyone can speak,

express his disagreement, discuss. Respect for the rights of different points of view is sacrosanct.

Along with the March 22 Movement, the JCR were the only ones to fill the grand auditorium. Every possible space, including the entrances to the balconies, was occupied. In seats, on the floor, standing—everyone found a place as best he could. It was as if Sartre were speaking.

From the JCR's founding in April 1966, following their expulsion from the UEC, they have given total support to Vietnam (in particular the CVN [National Vietnam Committees]) and to Cuba—this revolutionary country outside the two blocs and which most clearly rejects "statist" politics. They participated in the Liege [Belgium] Vietnam demonstration along with "traditional" Communists, social democrats, and various revolutionary groups (October 1966). And they were at the Brussels International Conference organized by the [European] youth movements standing to the left of the old organizations (February 1967). Three clear basic needs emerged at Brussels: support for Vietnam; struggle against NATO and imperialism; organization of political and practical coordination among the movements.

It is true that they are revolutionists. They have always said so. They have always declared that the mounting revolutionary wave in the world today poses the question of "world socialism." But they have never acted like a gang or a secret organization preparing in the shadows to finish off capitalism! Only this: France is a capitalist country and just talking about socialism is enough to make it tremble. There are some ideas that are more frightening than guns.

Dissension brews in the LBJ nest

We all know the American public's great affection for Lyndon Johnson. According to Drew Pearson, writing in the current issue of *Look* magazine, LBJ's decision not to run again was influenced by the following consideration: "I think I could get renominated. I think I could get re-elected. But the stockholders are dissatisfied."

"The final clincher" in LBJ's getting out while the getting is good, says Pearson, came from Johnson's own daughter, Lynda Robb. Lynda Bird allegedly visited the White House right after her husband, Marine Captain Charles Robb, had received orders to go to Vietnam. "Daddy," she said, "I want to ask you a question. Why do we have the right to be over there when so many people are opposed to the war? Why do we have to send 200 boys over there in Chuck's company when there's so much opposition here at home to the war?"

Lynda, the Pearson article quotes LBJ, "was pale as a ghost. She talked to me about what a fine boy Chuck was, in the past tense, as if he was never coming back."

...Seattle Black Panthers

(Continued from page 1)

Malcolm X scholarship funds," he stated.

When questioned about the Black Panther Party's position on the draft, Brisker said, "We must take a hard position on the war in Vietnam. We have no business in Vietnam. The community must be prepared to defend black brothers against the military police when they try to rip a brother off." The Black Panther Party is proposing service within the black community as an alternative to the draft for Afro-Americans.

Curtis Harris declared that a major objective of his campaign would be increased communication between black people and making the Black Panther Party and its 10-point program known in the community. He urged supporters to get the word out about the campaign and reminded the audience, "The Black Panther Party has 200 representatives—not just two."

Besides this major political step of running independent black candidates, the Black Panther Party is engaged in a number of arenas of activity. They have organized patrols of the black community to keep an eye on the cops.

On a recent Saturday they organized a picket line of about 100 black residents in front of an Albertson's supermarket in the black community. They called for a boycott of Albertson's, one of the largest food chains in the Seattle area. They were protesting the firing of several black

employees and the presence of armed Burns detectives—who are not found in stores in the white community. The picket line brought business to a standstill, and a special detachment of cops arrived on the scene. The pickets shouted at a black cop placed in front of the store, "Your brain has been washed inside and out by the honkies downtown."

Legal defense is another increasingly important aspect of Black Panther work. In addition to the sit-in convictions, five brothers have been charged with arson and disturbing the peace; they were arrested during the rebellion following Martin Luther King's assassination.

At the Militant Labor Forum Brisker stated, "America is an imperialist and colonial power." Afro-Americans are "an internally colonized people."

"American capitalism has the ability to absorb and nullify movements for change," Brisker said. As examples of this nullification, Brisker pointed to the role of black Democratic mayors like Walter Washington and Richard Hatcher, who, he said, are puppets of the white power structure.

At the Forum a collection of nearly \$75 was raised for the Black Panther Party and for the defense of Seattle blacks framed up by the city administration. But the Panthers need much more money for their campaign work and for legal defense. Donations should be sent to their headquarters at 1127-1/2 34th Ave., Seattle, Washington.

Some lessons of the Berkeley fight

By Peter Camejo

Peter Camejo is a leader of the movement in Berkeley, and is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for senator from California.

BERKELEY—What made the Berkeley city council finally vote 5 to 3 to grant the south campus community the use of Telegraph Avenue on July 4? Was this really a victory?

The closing of Telegraph Avenue is a symbol. Taken in isolation, the closing of the street July 4 was of little consequence. But in the context of the struggle waged in the days preceding the council vote, this was a clear victory for the young people who fought for their rights against all attempts by the city government and the police to abridge those rights.

The 5 to 3 vote in our favor reflected the culmination of a process which had made the position of the city authorities less and less tenable—a process which forced the city council to accede to our demands or face the prospect of even more massive opposition to their actions.

The vote itself was a direct admission of the justice of our demands. And, to the thousands who participated in the actions leading to the capitulation by the council, it was living proof that the way to win reforms in the present system is through direct action, through essentially revolutionary activity.

For three years every "due process" method had been tried to get the council to close Telegraph Avenue. All failed. After three days of direct action, a special city-council meeting voted to close Telegraph and the police were kept completely out of sight.

The council vote also established an important precedent which it will be hard to erase, although one can be sure the city council will try to move back towards the old situation as quickly as possible. In a similar way, the university administration has whittled away at the gains won by the Free Speech Movement of 1964. But the Berkeley campus still has the now-institutionalized right to use the Sproul Hall steps area and the right to set up literature tables, both won in that struggle. This is not much, but it is still important. Most important of all is the education of thousands through such struggles.

The Need for Unity

There are a couple of lessons of the fight which the whole radical movement can learn from.

Once the police attacked on Friday, June 28, the battle which resulted belonged to no specific group or viewpoint. It was a battle between the dissident young people of that community and the city's ruling circles.

No serious struggle can be waged without being organized. But the organizational structure of a struggle must reflect the people involved and must be fitted to the immediate task. The key to this struggle was to involve the largest possible number of people in direct actions.

The daily press immediately sought—and seeks—to put labels on the struggle. They seek to throw in an element of confusion or red-baiting. It is crucial that radical and socialist organizations not fall for this, and try to seek narrow organizational advantage from such a movement. For instance, when the recent Columbia University struggle broke out, SDS, which had taken the initiative in the action, did not encompass all the people engaged in that struggle. Insofar as the struggle could be labelled an SDS action, it was weakened, since general agreement with SDS was confused with agreement over the issues involved in the concrete struggle.

In Berkeley a similar situation arose around the Young Socialist Alliance. However, the YSA immediately sought to create a united effort of all the groups and individuals that supported the struggle.

These kinds of actions tend to create broad, united action committees which reflect the actual participants and which can be most effective in fighting. In such formations, there must be no exclusion of anyone who supports the struggle.

In Berkeley, the local Alameda County steering committee of the Peace and Freedom Party did not understand this. They felt that PFP represents "the movement"—and therefore the actions should take place under their organizational banner. Without consulting any other group or indi-

viduals working in the action, the PFP steering committee issued a leaflet calling for a meeting in its own name to plan a PFP rally right in the middle of the struggle. Fortunately, the PFP steering committee agreed to go before the regular mass meeting taking place each day. A mass meeting voted to include any PFP speakers within the planned, over-all July 4 action.

Sectarianism and organizational factionalism in the middle of such struggles can be quite harmful.

Mass Meetings

What has become known here as mass meetings is absolutely crucial in these kinds of struggles. They are really much more than just decision-making bodies. The meeting of over 1,000 people before the city council on July 2 was in effect

and a confidence that the ruling class in the last analysis is just and will also be "reasonable."

But how the mass of the people see a struggle is part of the relationship of forces and cannot be overlooked. In fact, what is known as "public opinion" can be decisive in a struggle. It can determine which is going to be more costly to the ruling class—to attempt to crush the struggle through force and run the risk of creating even more massive opposition; or to give concessions, hoping to placate an awakening mass consciousness.

Therefore, any revolutionary must take the question of public opinion seriously.

How to Win Public Opinion

There are three basic rules to keep in mind. First of all is clarity in your demands. People must be able to understand



photo by Dave Warren

AT JULY 4 RALLY. Peter Camejo addresses victory rally.

a mass meeting, probably the best in many ways. Here speaker after speaker documented the reality of the police occupation of Berkeley. This meeting made the issues much more clear and increased consciousness of the justice of our demands.

Mass meetings reflect the sentiment, the mood of those involved in the struggle. A mass meeting makes it possible to involve people and to get the necessary information to everyone. At Berkeley we had six mass meetings in five days. The largest numbered 2,000; the smallest about 600.

Winning the "Public"

When liberals speak about winning over public opinion, they mean they want you to water down your program and your tactics. Watering down your program and your tactics is the surest way not to win public sympathy. Every time you water down your demands, the liberals will only pressure you to give in some more; because behind the liberals' demand for "reasonableness" is a deep opposition to struggle

stand why you are struggling. The issues must be presented clearly and concisely.

Secondly, use defensive formulations. Many people are confused by what is meant by "defensive formulations." Actually, defensive formulations are simply statements that reflect reality. It is the police and the ruling class that are oppressing people and creating violence. The ruling class has always tried to make the people think that the poor, the oppressed, those whose rights are being infringed upon, are the cause of violence. They portray the government and the police force as simply trying to maintain "order" and "peace."

Insofar as the ruling class can succeed in creating a distorted image of reality, they can cut off sympathy and support for a struggle, whether it be of workers, Afro-Americans or students.

The Question of Legality

Legal questions can take on important mass dynamics in this respect. A leaflet by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) attacked the Berkeley YSA for its concern

over every legal argument. The PLP should study how Lenin spent endless hours thinking out ways to explain to workers why their strike struggles were legal under Czarist laws. It is not a question of getting hung up on legalisms, but of presenting a true picture—of placing the blame for violence where it belongs, in this case on the police and city government.

In Berkeley, for instance, the question arose as to whether we had a permit for the original rally. We had the only permit necessary, and thus our rally was a perfectly legal one. The press continues to refer to it as an illegal rally, but we explained that was not so.

What revolutionaries should understand is that the ruling class is not the slightest bit concerned about whether the rally was "legal" or "illegal." They are concerned over the consciousness of the mass of the people who hear about the struggle.

The war in Vietnam is illegal. Laws are violated every day by the ruling class in every city in this country. But they understand the importance of how people see any given struggle. The revolutionary must take it just as seriously.

The third factor to keep in mind is decisiveness, determination and combativity. If you stand firm and make it clear that you will fight rather than forego principle, people can respect you.

But without defensive formulations and without clarity in your demands, determination and combativity will only isolate you and permit the ruling class to victimize you.

By Wednesday, July 3, we had achieved all three factors to some degree. Over and over again we had explained the issue: our constitutional right to assembly. Over and over again, on radio, television, and in the papers, we had repeated our key demand: assembly.

We explained how we did not want violence, that the violence was caused by the police. We were willing to apply for all and any permits. We went before the city council, etc. All our explanations reflected reality. They were defensively formulated.

And, last but not least, we stood firm. After the city council voted us down 5 to 4 on July 2, a mass meeting of over 2,000 voted to return to Telegraph Avenue on July 4—regardless. We had already proven on the streets that we could fight. That meeting of 2,000 represented some 10 to 15 thousand—at least—who would be there July 4 in support of the right of assembly. Millions of others would understand and reflect some sympathy. So the ruling class chose to concede. Telegraph was closed.

Hidden behind our victory is the price we paid. Some 35 young people still face imprisonment, some under felony charges. The fact that we were not strong enough to get the charges dropped shows the limit of our victory. We must not forget those facing trial now. Both a political and a legal defense must be mounted for these young people.

Berkeley: what happened

On Friday, June 28, the Young Socialist Alliance, with the support of other groups, held a rally on Telegraph Avenue in solidarity with the workers and students of France and to protest the current Gaullist witchhunt against the French left.

At two open planning meetings it was decided to keep the street clear of demonstrators during the rally, to avoid giving the police any supposed pretext for infringing on the right of assembly, although everyone knew that there was nothing illegal about a street rally.

Most of the demonstrators, about 1,000 in number, stayed on the sidewalk as directed by monitors. The police attacked anyway, thus clearly revealing that their orders were to allow no rally, no matter how peaceful and legal.

The cops indiscriminately lobbed tear gas from speeding cars and beat up demonstrators and others who happened to be on the street.

The demonstrators began to fight back. Barricades were built for defense.

The next day, Saturday, 600 people went to a mass meeting to plan a protest

against the police attack. They decided that rights are won only by fighting for them, and that they would return to Telegraph for another rally. This rally grew to 2,000.

Again the police attacked, this time more viciously. The demonstrators, too, fought back harder. Sporadic fighting occurred throughout the city. Many citizens were beaten by the cops, who even chased people into their homes and brutalized them.

That night the demonstration was smaller, but it occurred and thus showed that the imposition of a curfew would not stop the movement. The Sunday night rally was held at the city hall—outside of the curfew zone. And the mayor responded by extending the curfew to cover the entire city.

In the face of the curfew, the movement developed a new strategy: Instead of mustering demonstrations of whatever size might be possible every day, they decided to build up for a truly massive action on July 4, and to use the time before the Fourth to rally popular support.

There were no demonstrations on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday. Instead they went through all the avenues of legal procedure to get Telegraph closed July 4.

On Tuesday, they went to the city council, en masse. So many other citizens were present who spoke in favor of the right of free assembly and against police violence that the recalcitrant city council of less than a week earlier began to crack and bow to the pressure. They lifted the curfew. And four of the nine voted for the granting of Telegraph for July 4—but five voted against.

Following the city council meeting Tuesday, another mass meeting was held of 2,000. At this meeting Peter Camejo urged that they go ahead full-steam with planning the most massive demonstration for July 4 at Telegraph Avenue, even if the council refused to grant a permit. The vote was overwhelming in favor of organizing a July 4 rally.

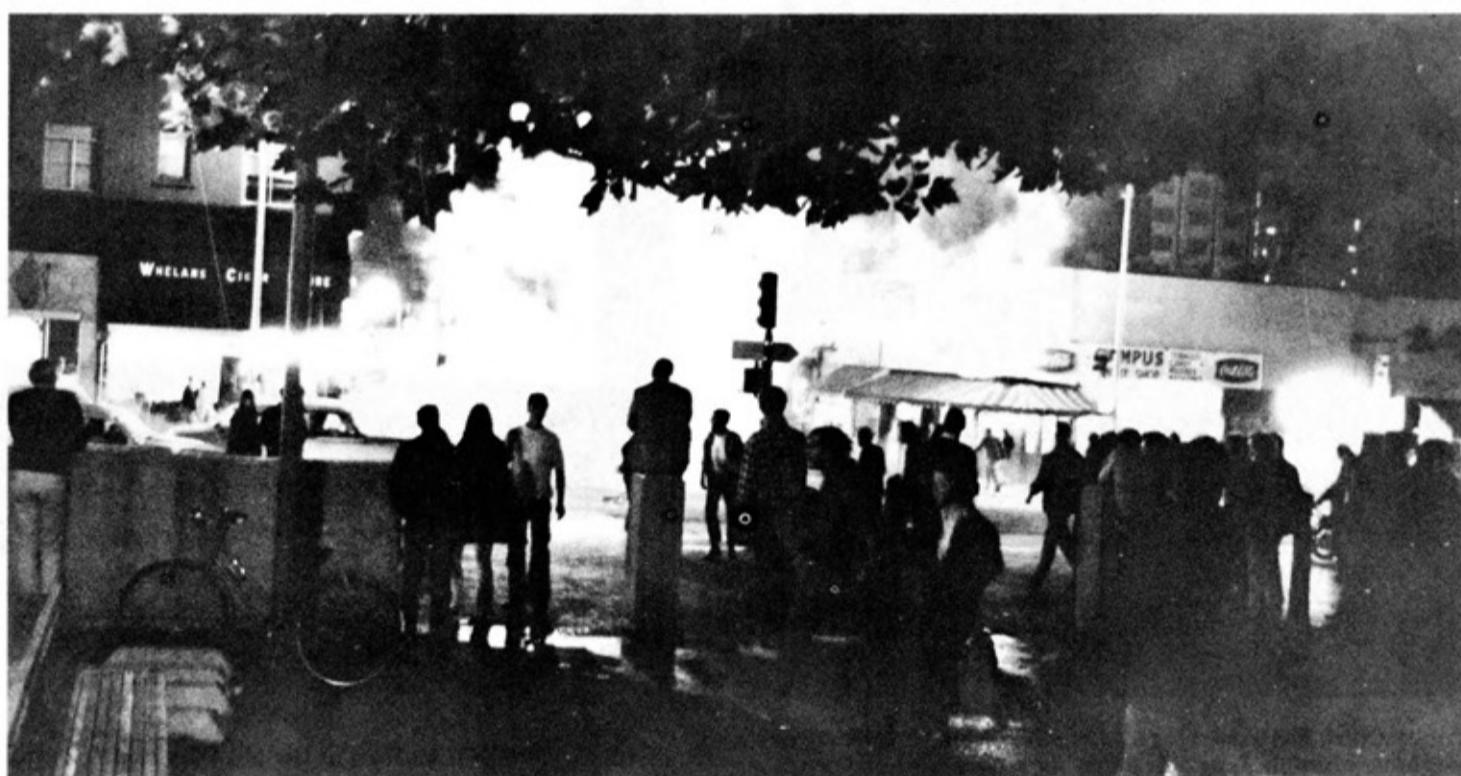
On July 3, the council met and reconsidered the question. By a 5-3 vote, they capitulated.

**The
Berkeley
*battle***

**Four-page
special
photo
supplement**



JUNE 28 RALLY. Street meeting called by Young Socialist Alliance and other groups in solidarity with the workers and students of France. Photo taken before cops attacked peaceful demonstration.



TEAR GAS. Cops used tear gas in attack on rally near Berkeley campus night of June 28.



VOTE. Mass meeting on Berkeley campus July 1 decides to go to city council next day to present demands.



AT JULY 1 MASS MEETING. Peter Camejo addressing decision-making meeting.



photo by Hermes

ATTACK CITIZENS. Cops shove elderly couple in their sweep to clear streets night of June 28.



PREPARE TO BREAK UP RALLY. Cops line up on Telegraph Ave. night of June 28 in preparation for attack French workers and students.



photo by Hermes

BEFORE ATTACK. Police Chief Beale (arrow) talks with Peter Camejo (just left of Beale) over microphone night of June 28. Beale then ordered cop attack on peaceful rally.

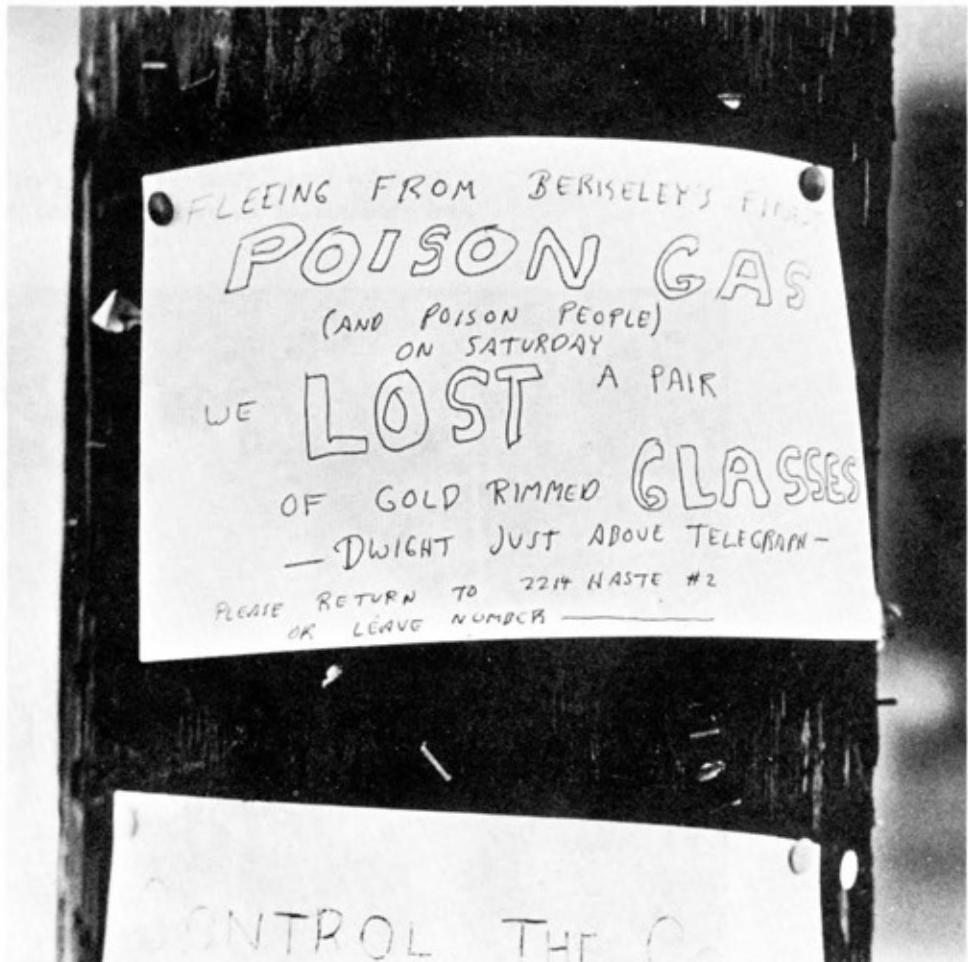


photo by Hermes

ON TELEPHONE POLE. Sign at Dwight Way and Telegraph Ave. on June 30.



photo by Hermes

BLACK PANTHER LEADER. Bobby Seale, Black Panther Party chairman, addresses city council meeting July 2. Massive turnout at city council meeting, where citizens expressed their indignation at police attacks and curfew imposed by mayor, helped build popular support for student demands.

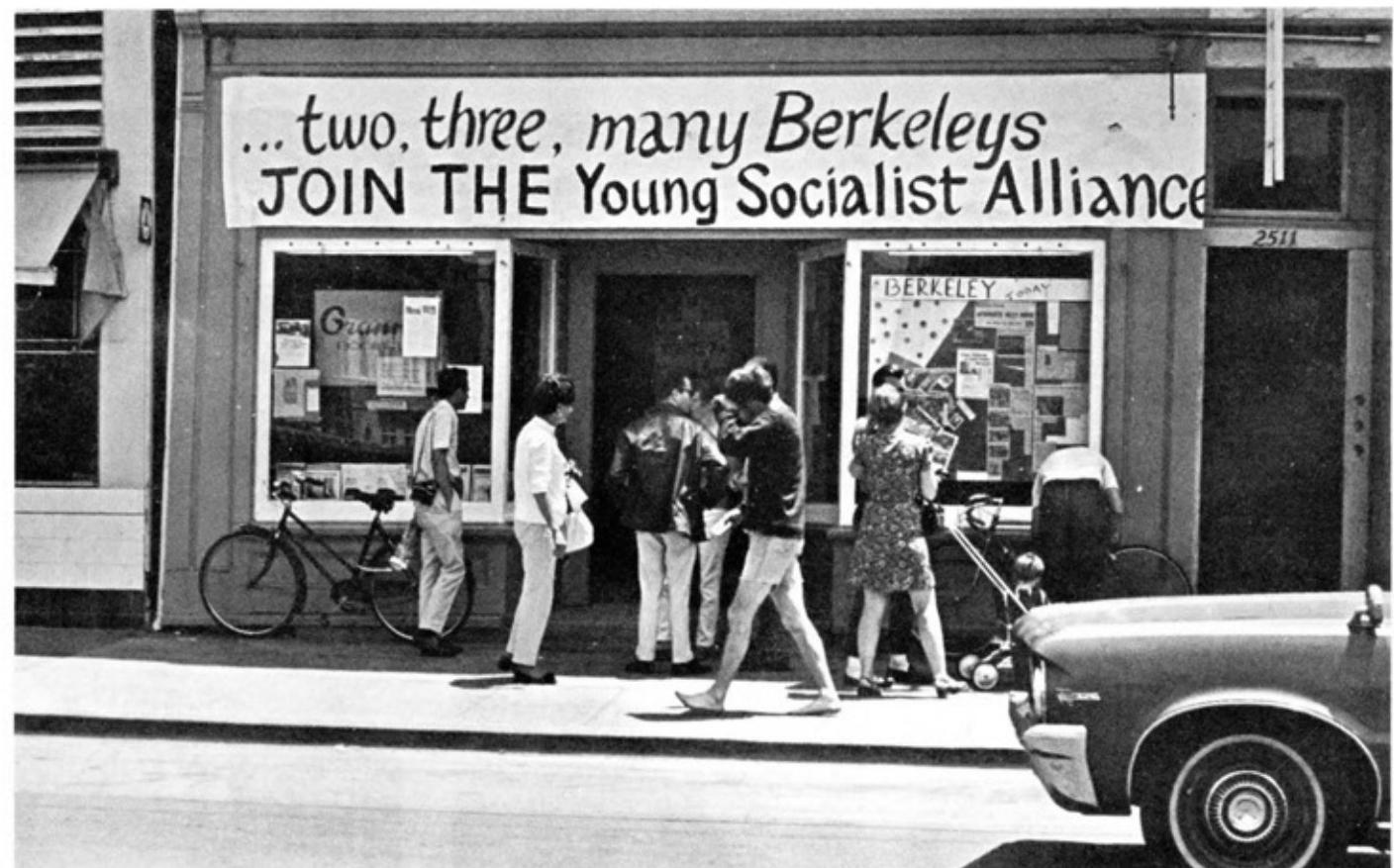


photo by Dave Warren

GRANMA BOOKSTORE. Radical bookstore in Berkeley.



photo by Dave Warren
on peaceful rally in support of



photo by Hermes

BARRICADES. Young people set up barricades in defense from police attacks during nights of street battles.



photo by Doug Muir



photo by Hermes

AT CITY COUNCIL. Peter Camejo, standing, presents demands to city-council meeting which drew 1,500 Berkeley residents.



photo by Ron Alexander

JULY 4 RALLY. Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party leader, addresses victory celebration.



photo by Hermes

JUNE 29 MASS MEETING. Scene at Bancroft and Telegraph Ave.



photo by Dave Warren

JUNE 28 RALLY. Sign over speaker's stand, before cop attack.



photo by Ron Alexander

RED FLAG. Preparing for July 4 rally.



photo by Ron Alexander

PAUL BOUTELLE. Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate addresses July 4 victory rally.



photo by Ron Alexander

VICTORY CELEBRATION. July 4 rally on Telegraph Ave.



photo by Ron Alexander

Painted on Telegraph Ave.

...transit workers

(Continued from page 1)

Transit leaders do not contest the right of retired members to vote for union officers and convention delegates, which in any case is required by the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act.

Those most affected by the block of retired drivers are the black workers, who comprise a majority of the union's rank and file. Since the Chicago Transit Authority only began employing black workers in 1943, virtually all the retired members are older white workers. The retired men find it easier to attend union meetings than the active drivers, who must often work nights.

White Officers

All the officers of Local 241 are white, and only four Afro-Americans are on the 26-man executive board. Strike leaders point out that democratization of the union would result in increased representation of the black majority.

The strike, which shut down major bus lines for five days and resulted in a \$700,000 revenue loss for the Transit Authority, was ably led by an all-black leadership firmly based on this unrepresented majority of transit workers. This leadership has also been able to gain very significant support from white workers.

The front page of the July 6 Chicago Sun Times shows a white worker receiving a standing ovation at a strike meeting held July 5 at Monumental Baptist Church. Newspaper reports continually mention the support the strike has received from both black and white drivers.

Stating the position of the strike leadership, Benson said, "This is one time that black men are leading white men. They know that what benefits us benefits them. The union [leadership] isn't representing them any better than it represents us."

Further support for the strikers came from workers operating Chicago's elevated

trains, who are members of a different local of the transit workers union. Many el motormen did not report for work, demonstrating both their support of the drivers and their feeling that they share many of the same grievances.

SCLC Support

Jesse Jackson of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference also voiced support of the strikers at the July 5 strike meeting. Jackson announced that SCLC intended to run an educational campaign in black neighborhoods to explain the just grievances of the bus drivers to the community. In addition, he said, SCLC was considering calling a general boycott of all trains and buses in the Chicago area pending a settlement of the dispute. Jackson later stated that parishioners of more than 50 churches would hear explanations of the strike during Sunday-morning services.

Jackson pointed to the Montgomery bus boycott and the Memphis sanitation workers' strike as examples to be followed by the black community of Chicago.

Faced with this threat, Mayor Daley moved to head off the strike by bypassing the all-white official leadership of Local 241 and negotiating directly with the leadership of the strike. After six-and-a-half hours of bargaining, Daley was able to reach an "understanding" with the strike leaders that the men would return to work with no disciplinary action against them. During the course of the negotiations, Daley was also able to reach James J. Hill, president of the bus drivers' union, who stated he would meet with leaders of the Concerned Transit Workers early this week.

But immediately following the negotiations between Daley and the strike leaders, Hill stated, "If they think there are any commitments, they are in for a rude awakening. This union is the bargaining agent for the bus drivers."

Unfinished Struggle

The announcement that the leaders of the Concerned Transit Workers have appealed to their international union for election of a new leadership is just another step in this yet unfinished struggle of the union rank and file to better their conditions of employment. Although the dispute is far from ended, already a few generalizations can be made. First, the black workers have been able to bring forth a leadership capable of successfully challenging both the Chicago Transit Authority and the conservative union bureaucracy. Second, this all-black leadership has been able to gain very significant support from those white workers within the transit union who are willing to fight for better working conditions.

Finally, the entry of black community leadership organizations represents a new dynamic factor in labor disputes, a factor earlier witnessed in Memphis. Black workers, who make up a far greater proportion of the basic working force than their numbers in the total population suggest, have powerful forces outside the trade unions which can play an important role in future working-class actions.

The strategic location of the black population in the key industrial areas, as well as its militancy, further increases the power that black workers can wield in defense of their interests against bosses and union bureaucrats alike.

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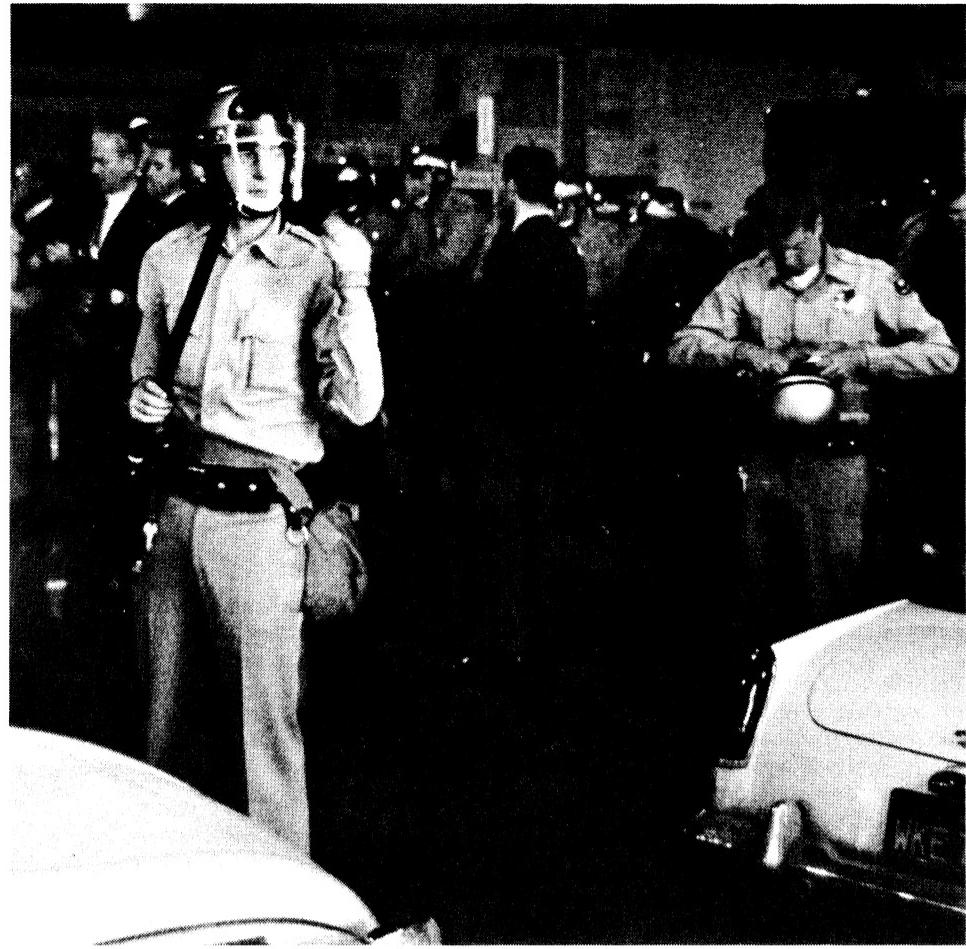


photo by Hermes

COPS PREPARE FOR ATTACK. Photo taken night of June 28, as Berkeley cops get ready. Note tear gas grenade on hip—and absence of identifying badge.

'I was afraid of what the cops were doing to people'

By Elizabeth Barnes

BERKELEY, Calif.—On Friday night when the cops opened up with tear gas against the students, an older man happened to be walking nearby on his way home. He astonished the demonstrators by marching up to an official from the police department and demanding to know why cops were running up and down the streets of his community throwing tear gas.

"What did these kid do?" he asked.

"Well," the officer replied "they went out into the street."

"So you tear-gas them! Well that's just about the stupidest thing I've seen in a long time," the man bellowed. "I've lived here for 15 years, and I've never seen anything like that!"

By the end of the week thousands of Berkeley residents had had some confrontation or experience with the police which caused them to sympathize with the demands of the protesters.

Many of them had been clubbed by cops, or tear-gassed, or had witnessed others being beaten. On Saturday night for example, when the cops attacked, many people in the area who had nothing to do with the protest were beaten or gassed.

Masses of people watched over television

as the cops rushed into a restaurant, clubs swinging, pulled people out and started beating them up. People coming into Berkeley from San Francisco who didn't even know about the curfew were stopped and beaten.

A minister was beaten up by police in front of a church as he was directing wounded students inside. The cops broke the window on Cody's Bookstore on Telegraph Ave. and tear-gassed a first aid station.

Nearly two hundred people were arrested. Many of these were on curfew violations. The curfew itself, with its logic of arbitrary and brutal police rule, was what woke up many people to what was going on.

During an eight-hour-long meeting of the city council during which scores of citizens put their grievances against the police before the city government, many of the stories of brutalities came out.

A Baptist minister, Dr. Raymond Jennings, told the council, "I stood on that corner the other night and I couldn't believe what I saw with my own eyes. I didn't get my family home until after 1:30 because I was afraid of what the police were doing to people on the streets."

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TOKEN OR REAL?

The CP presidential ticket

By Harry Ring

The decision of the Communist Party to nominate a presidential ticket this year represents a rather complicated maneuver designed to fog over the party's real line of supporting capitalist politicians.

To be fully understood, this maneuver has to be examined in the context of the CP's long-standing reformist program.

The slate nominated by the CP's Fourth of July convention—Charlene Mitchell for President and Michael Zagarell for Vice-President—is the first presidential ticket fielded by the CP since 1940.

The CP did not run candidates during the intervening years because of its policy of working with liberal elements within the major parties, principally the Democratic Party. The present decision to enter a ticket does not represent a departure from that policy but is conceived of as a tactic to continue the pro-Democratic Party policy in what for the CP is a very sticky situation.

This reformist policy of supporting capitalist parties and their nominees goes all the way back to 1936. At that time the CP was supporting Roosevelt and working actively with the "New Deal" forces in the Democratic Party.

But in those days there was a wide radicalization among the workers and opposition to both major parties among them. So, in order to work more effectively in the Democratic Party and lead the leftward moving workers back to it, the CP decided it was expedient to maintain the fiction of independence from the Democrats.

"Defeat Landon"

To do this they nominated Earl Browder for President and ran a token campaign on his behalf. The giveaway was the central slogan of the campaign—"Defeat Landon [the Republican nominee] at all costs!" The meaning of the slogan—vote for Roosevelt—was clear to the initiate.

This is not simply an interesting historical point. It sheds light on the present CP tactic and on its line over the years since the 30s. To further illuminate the point it's necessary to enter into what may first appear as a digression.

For more than four decades the line of the CP has not been determined by the needs and interests of the broad masses who live under capitalism. Rather, party policy has been tailored to fit Moscow's diplomatic maneuvers.

The process of reducing once revolutionary communist parties to mere mouthpieces of bureaucratically conceived Kremlin foreign policy was carried through by Stalin. Representing a self-seeking, privileged bureaucracy that had developed in the Soviet Union, Stalin broke with Marxism and succeeded in scrapping the revolutionary internationalist policy which had prevailed under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

For this revolutionary policy Stalin substituted a policy of seeking accommodations with one or another sector of world imperialism.

This Kremlin policy of seeking live-and-let-live deals with imperialism was formally initiated in 1935 under the label of "collective security." In the 50s Stalin renamed it "peaceful competitive coexistence," and then Khrushchev dropped the "competitive." The American CP's electoral policy is a direct derivative of the

line of promoting "peaceful coexistence" between the capitalist and noncapitalist worlds.

To achieve such "coexistence" the Moscow bureaucrats offer the capitalists class peace instead of class struggle within their own countries and in their colonies. This has meant that those Communist parties which adhere to Moscow's line follow a policy of working actively to dampen the class struggle and to promote reformist politics.

No Armed Struggle

In Latin America it has meant opposing the program of revolutionary armed struggle in favor of seeking a coalition with "progressive sectors of the national bourgeoisie" and even talk of a "parliamentary road to socialism" in countries beset by murderous dictatorships.

politician, Henry Wallace, as its "peace" candidate. (In 1950 Wallace declared support for the criminal U.S. aggression in Korea.)

By 1952, the CP had decided that even formation of a third capitalist party was an "ultra-left adventure," and that it was necessary to get back into the "mainstream," that is, the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. This has meant concentration on such formations as the New York Reform Democratic Clubs and the California Democratic Council. (Formal support was given to Vincent Hallinan, the 1952 Progressive Party nominee, but actually his campaign was knifed by CP unionists and others quietly putting their efforts behind the Stevenson campaign of the Democrats.)

By 1956 the CP had succeeded in burying

reconciling its public commitment to Ferguson with its unconcealed enthusiasm for O'Dwyer.

All of these various and obviously contradictory efforts are intended to implement a current tactical modification of the "mainstream" line. This modification is presented under the formula of working "inside and outside" the Democratic Party.

That is, the CP recognizes that there are growing numbers of people today who are leaving or refuse to enter the Democratic Party, and it doesn't want to completely isolate itself from such people.

This point is given particular urgency because of the steadily growing support by young radicals of the presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party.

Token Gesture

Examined in this framework, the nomi-

VICTORY SPURS FIGHT FOR THE PEOPLE'S GOALS

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By DANIEL MASON

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE last Tuesday gave Goldwaterism and the Republican party a smashing defeat and have handed Democratic Party candidates, from President Johnson and his running mate, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, down to the legislatures of many states, a far-reaching mandate for peace, equality and economic security in the nation.

To paraphrase a Goldwater slogan, the voters knew in their hearts that the ultra-Right was not right for the nation.

The astonishing vote set an all-time record percentage-wise, with the 39,215,326 votes for Johnson-Humphrey, as against 24,780,804 for Goldwater-Miller, making an almost 62 per cent majority, surpassing even the Franklin D. Roosevelt landslide over Alfred M. Landon in 1936.

ELECTORAL VOTE

The electoral college vote was even more lopsided, with the Johnson-Humphrey ticket getting

486 from 44 states and the District of Columbia, with Goldwater getting only 52 from five states in the deep South, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina and Georgia, and Goldwater's own state, Arizona, where he probably squeaked through.

But the picture in the five Southern states that went for Goldwater is deceptive. Here the victory of the ultra-Right racist coalition was fashioned with flagrant, bomb and terror, and criminal perversion and subversion of the democratic electoral process.

In Alabama, no voter had the chance to vote for the Demo-
cratic ticket. In Louisiana, most of the Negro people were denied the right to vote. The same was true in South Carolina.

In Georgia, the Goldwater win was achieved through suppression of the Negro's right to vote in the rural areas and the appeal for racism among the economically fearful poor whites there. This served to overbalance the coalition of resurgent Negro voters and their white allies in the great population center of Atlanta.

In Mississippi, the terror against the Negro citizens was at its greatest, with only a tiny
(Continued on page 11)

THE WORKER hailed Johnson's election in 1964.

In a country like France it has meant the disastrous policy of diverting the struggle for workers' power into the arena of capitalist electoral politics, handing a victory to de Gaulle.

Here in the U.S. application of the "peaceful coexistence" line has meant scrapping any pretense of adhering to the elementary Marxist concepts that society is divided into classes with mutually antagonistic interests, that the state is the executive committee of the ruling class, and that capitalist parties like the Republicans and Democrats cannot in any way express the interests of the workers and the black people.

Instead the CP has substituted such anti-Marxist and reformist concepts as a "people's antimonopoly coalition," a thesis which asserts there are "antimonopoly" sectors of the capitalist class that can be brought into a "progressive" coalition.

Application of the "antimonopoly coalition" line is expressed through support to "progressive" and "peace-loving" sectors of the Democratic Party and through campaigning for candidates of the Democratic Party who assertedly represent these "progressive" forces.

In 1936 and 1944 this policy took the form of backing Roosevelt. (During his first term, the CP was on an ultraleft kick and branded Roosevelt a "social fascist." Then in 1940, during the Stalin-Hitler pact, his Republican opponent, Willkie, was presented as more "progressive.")

Wallace Fiasco

In 1948, at the opening of the cold war against the Soviet Union, the CP supported formation of a third party, the Progressive Party. But this party too was kept within the framework of capitalist politics. The Progressive Party nominated a capitalist

the Progressive Party and the New York American Labor Party and was deeply reimmersed in the "mainstream." In the name of "lesser evilism," the party backed Stevenson in '56, Kennedy in '60 and LBJ in '64.

But in 1968 this pro-Democratic line presents thorny problems of execution. While there are major differences, the situation is somewhat reminiscent of 1936 when precisely in order to effectively support the Democrats, the CP had to make the pretense of being independent of them.

The key problem today is this: Unless McCarthy is nominated—something the CP desperately hopes for but apparently doesn't expect—it will be extremely difficult to sell people on working in the Democratic Party on behalf of local, state and congressional nominees classified as "peace-loving" or "progressive."

Juggling Act

That's why in recent months the CP has given the appearance of a frantic juggler trying to keep a number of ping-pong balls in the air simultaneously. We're told of the urgency of "stopping Humphrey" by nominating McCarthy. At the same time the CP promotes the idea of fielding a "third ticket" and drafting Dr. Spock and Mrs. King for it. Meanwhile, it nominates its own ticket.

Working out so complicated a maneuver must surely be keeping the CP tops awake nights. For example, in New York the party threw itself behind the Peace and Freedom formation which nominated Herman Ferguson, a militant Afro-American separatist, for U.S. Senator. Then, unexpectedly, Paul O'Dwyer, a long-time favorite of "progressives" won the Democratic nomination for the same office. The CP now has the excruciating problem of

nation of a CP presidential ticket emerges as nothing more than a token gesture intended to placate those who insist on working "outside" the Democratic Party and, hopefully, to draw them at least part way in. ("Sure, we'll work for the CP presidential ticket. But meanwhile we've also got a good Democratic peace candidate in our district that we should get behind, and there's a lot of good people in the local Democratic club.")

The fact that the CP intends this only as a token campaign is indicated by the date of the nomination. The decision to run a presidential ticket was announced in April. But nominations were held off until July, when it was too late to get an independent ticket on the ballot in most states, including such key ones as Michigan, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

And the argument that the CP is legally barred from the ballot in a number of states is a "good" reason rather than a real one. Such bans are clearly unconstitutional, and if the CP decided to challenge them, they would have the support of the entire radical movement and of significant civil-liberties forces as well.

Further, on those occasions in previous years when the CP did want to get on the ballot (Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in 1958, Herbert Aptheker in 1967), the party used the legitimate device permitted independent nominees of using any ballot designation they chose. (Aptheker used "peace and freedom" and Gurley Flynn a similar one.)

But the CP isn't really interested in a serious challenge to the capitalist parties. On the contrary, it sees its campaign as buttressing its efforts "inside" the "mainstream."

Watch how the CP campaign develops, and you'll get the point.



Gus Hall

Book review

Who runs America?

THE RICH AND THE SUPER-RICH
by Ferdinand Lundberg. Lyle Stuart, Inc.,
1968, 812 pp. \$10.00

In 1937, a young journalist hurled a bomb into the sedate drawing rooms of the academic economists and sociologists. Ferdinand Lundberg's *America's Sixty Families* immediately became a classic of radical literature, and it has served radicals and socialists well over the years as a source of factual material for political and economic analysis.

The thesis of the book was simple. There is, Lundberg claimed, an "inner circle" of some 60 extended families that through their immense holdings controlled the greater part of the nation's productive wealth.

Supported by some 450 further families of great but not such vast wealth, these 60 families effectively dominated the economic, social, political and cultural life of the country.

The evidence Lundberg presented in support of his thesis was formidable, and despite the agonized howls of apologists for the status quo, his central argument was never successfully attacked. Although Lundberg was far from being a Marxist—his theoretical conceptions were confused and often extremely naive—Marxists found in the book powerful empirical support for such central theoretical tenets as the law of the centralization of social wealth and power.

Since *America's Sixty Families* was written, a variety of beliefs and theories have gained currency that are diametrically opposed to Lundberg's findings. Ownership of the corporations is supposed to be so widely dispersed that property no longer confers economic power. The managers are said to have replaced owners as the ruling class. Or else no one has power, and events occur as the result of the balancing of more-or-less equally matched "countervailing forces." Both wealth and income distribution are supposed to have become far more equalitarian.

Extremely high income and estate taxes have led, it is claimed, to a dispersal of the great fortunes, so that wherever power

may reside, it cannot rest on vast wealth. Or, it is said, while the great fortunes may still exist, new fortunes are being made every day—America remains the "land of opportunity."

New Book

In his new book, *The Rich and the Super-Rich*, Lundberg effectively demolishes these beliefs and shows that the theories based on them are simply false.

Wealth, Lundberg demonstrates, is enormously concentrated in the United States. In 1958, the top one-half of one percent of the population owned 32 percent of the total national wealth. Although there was a slight trend toward greater equality between 1929 and 1953, since 1954 that trend has been reversed, and Lundberg estimates that by now the top one-half percent owns more than the 32.4 percent it did in 1929.

Ownership of *productive* wealth (factories, etc.) is much more highly concentrated still. For example, while about 18 percent of households may own some stock, 1.6 percent of the population own 80 percent of the outstanding shares, 100 percent of the tax-exempt state and municipal bonds, and 88 percent of corporate bonds.

And control of the corporate sector of the economy is even more highly concentrated. For under conditions of relatively wide dispersal of stock ownership, a stock holding as small as 5 percent is generally sufficient to control a corporation. But effective control places all the assets of the corporation at the disposal of the controlling block, to be used in whatever manner is most beneficial to owners of that block.

This concentrated wealth and more concentrated power is in the hands of a relatively few, often large family groups. The corporations, far from being controlled by managers, are controlled by these families, and corporate policies are determined by the interests of the controlling families.

The great fortunes held by these families are not being dissipated. The very tax laws that are often supposed to have led to their dissolution have tended in fact



to keep them intact. For, increasingly, a major portion of the family assets, rather than being passed down to individuals—which would subject them to high estate taxes—are placed in a variety of holding companies and trust funds from which the individual heirs draw income. Thus a strong economic base of family cohesion is established. However the individual family members may quarrel among themselves—the Du Pont family is especially notorious for internal feuds—they face the outside world as a collective.

The tax-exempt, "philanthropic" foundation is another important source of family control. Members and retainers of the family are usually a majority of the trustees of the foundation. They can thus utilize its assets, together with those held by various family trusts, holding companies, etc., to exercise control in the corporate economy.

Further, Lundberg effectively argues, the families at the pinnacle of the social pyramid 30 years ago are still there today. Du Ponts, Fords, Rockefellers, Mellons, and others like them, the foundations of whose fortunes go back before World War I, remain the rulers and beneficiaries of the corporate economy. There are, it is true, some large, new (post-World War II) fortunes. But in many cases they are far from securely based and in most cases they derive from oil, where the income-tax depletion allowance has created a special situation.

Democrats and Republicans

Lundberg demonstrates in considerable detail the domination of the two major political parties by this propertied oligarchy. Almost wholly dependent on it for financing, neither individual politicians nor the parties' apparatus can display any significant independence from the ruling rich in policy making. Although traditionally the very rich have generally preferred Republicans to Democrats, Lundberg's evidence makes it quite clear that both parties are instruments of the very highest reaches of the American ruling class.

Needless to say, through domination of education and the means of mass communication, the oligarchy's influence in the cultural and ideological sphere is as pervasive as it is in the economy and in politics.

The Rich and the Super-Rich contains a wealth of information on the ways and means through which the commanding families in American society maintain their fortunes and their social positions, and the institutions through which they reach out from these commanding heights to shape every aspect of American life—for their purposes and to their advantage.

Unfortunately, this great mass of valuable factual material swims in a meandering stream of mostly childish philosophizing about this and that and everything. Lundberg's ventures into theory are almost invariably ventures into foolishness. As an example, one can consider his foot-note refutation of historical materialism. If, he argues, "institutions" determined men's ideas, then Marx, who was a product of capitalist society, could never have developed his "own sharp economic analysis!"

And, Lundberg—apparently seriously—argues that John D. Rockefeller, in devising means to hang on to the Standard Oil monopoly, was "clearly guilty of non-capitalist behavior" since capitalism means competition and monopoly destroys competition! Or, after having admirably demonstrated the totally subservient character of the two capitalist parties, Lundberg proclaims that "the public" could make them more responsive to the "public's" needs if only "some eighty million members of the labor force" would "(1) participate intelligently in all primaries and (2) contribute about \$5 a year to their party!"

There is no need to dwell further on such silliness. In spite of it and in spite of the book's verbosity and tiresome bombast, Lundberg has again delivered valuable weapons to the Marxist arsenal.

—Robert Langston

The Great Society

WHAT SICK SOCIETY?—The police were absolutely great. It was as thrilling as anything you could see on television.—*New York Times* report of a statement by a resident of a plush Fifth Avenue apartment overlooking Central Park, who had a bird's-eye view of the shooting there July 3 when a man went berserk with a gun.

PRETTY HAIRY—A New York criminal court judge imposed a \$1 fine against the Feldman Veal Company after a shipment of 12,000 pounds of veal was confiscated in which federal inspectors had found hair, paint, brush bristles and sawdust. The judge felt that loss of the confiscated meat was a sufficient penalty. Besides, he said, it was a first offense. The company is currently under indictment for using counterfeit federal stamps to label ungraded meat "choice." Maybe the loss of the stamps will be considered sufficient punishment.

NOTICE TO BIRD WATCHERS—The 50 states have a remarkable profusion of laws regulating sexual activity, according to the July 5 *Wall Street Journal*, which reported: "Most states also prohibit sodomy, although few laws define the crime. All told, the various sex statutes cover practically every physical activity known to man—and then some. In Minnesota, for example, it is a crime punishable by up to 20 years in prison to 'carnally know' a bird." Wouldn't that make bird-watching voyeurism?

SLIPPERY SOLONS—" . . . in one of those ignoble little tricks that make you feel maybe communism has something to be said for it, Senate and House, with a wink and a smirk, without debate or record vote, slipped through on June 11 a bipartisan bill permitting tax-deductible advertisements in party convention programs. Are you the head of a big corporation? Do you want a war contract? Better buy a page or two in our slick-paper

NAZI, SHMAZI! WHO, ME?—Describing West German Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger's July 4 testimony in a court case, the *New York Times* reported: "When the presiding judge asked him to tell of his personal background during the Third Reich, Mr. Kiesinger said that he had joined the Nazi party in 1933, 'but not out of conviction or opportunism' (?). He said that he had nothing to do with the party between 1933 and 1940 except to pay his dues. His joining the Foreign Ministry in 1940 was, he said, 'a pure coincidence . . .' In the early years of the war he was convinced that the deported Jews were simply being sent to work 'in munitions factories or places like that.'"

SCIENCE DEP'T—We've been pondering the Vatican's disclosure that it is considering withdrawing the censure imposed on Galileo for his wild assertion that the earth revolved around the sun. Our question is whether the Church is reexamining Galileo's notion or has simply decided to forgive and forget.

THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK—"In the United States it is written that corruption is our worst enemy and this is true, but among Americans it is not scarce either."—South Vietnamese Premier Tran Van Huong discussing black market arms traffic by Americans in Saigon.

—Harry Ring

The Case of Leon Trotsky

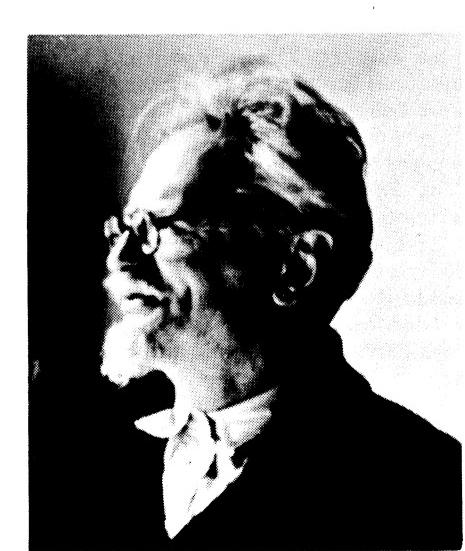
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Long out of print, *The Case of Leon Trotsky* will be an important addition to your Marxist library. This is the transcript of Trotsky's testimony before the Dewey Commission inquiry into the Moscow Trials. Here is a partial list of the subjects covered: Trotsky's career as a revolutionist; the history of the Bolshevik party after the revolution; the struggle of the Left Opposition; the Marxist attitude toward terrorism, democracy and socialism; the origins and nature of Stalinism; tactics in the fight against fascism and the difference between the united front and the popular front.

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Leon Trotsky

N.Y. 'peace' nominee calls for a 'standstill' in Vietnam

NEW YORK—A proposal by Paul O'Dwyer for a UN supervised "standstill" cease-fire in Vietnam was sharply assailed by Hedda Garza, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. senator.

O'Dwyer won the Democratic nomination for the same office by campaigning in the primary election as an opponent of the Vietnam war. A liberal Democrat and one-time member of the old American Labor Party, he has held various city offices.

The July 10 *New York Times* reported: "Paul O'Dwyer called yesterday for a quick 'standstill' in Vietnam—a cease-fire with both sides maintaining their current position—to be arranged by the United Nations."

Asked if he thought North Vietnam would go along with such a proposal, O'Dwyer replied:

"I have no idea whether they would or not. But it's certainly worth trying. And if they did say no, we could place the finger of blame on them."

Mrs. Garza responded that if such a proposal were made to the Vietnamese they would have every right to reject it out of hand.

"The United States is committing aggression against the Vietnamese people," she declared. "U.S. forces have absolutely no right to be in Vietnam on any basis."

"To propose, as Mr. O'Dwyer does, that they have the right to maintain their present military positions and that the Vietnamese people should be asked to accept this occupation of their country is in flagrant violation of the most elementary concept of the right of self-determination."

"The Vietnamese people," she continued, "are fighting to overthrow a tyrannical regime which stays in power only by grace of the U.S. military presence. To propose a 'standstill' is to demand that the Vietnamese people suspend their struggle against their oppressors."

She took equally strong exception to O'Dwyer's proposal that a "standstill" be arranged and supervised by the United Nations.

UN Role

The UN intervention in the Congo, resulting in the murder of Patrice Lumumba, she noted, should have made clear to all that on every decisive issue that agency has served as an instrument of U.S. imperialist policy.

A UN force in Vietnam, she said, would inevitably be arrayed against the Vietnamese liberation fighters. The Vietnamese, she said, have been absolutely justified in their refusal to accept UN "mediation" of any kind.

SNCC goal-- national black political party

The *New York Times* reports that SNCC has decided that its major goal in the immediate period is the formation of a nationwide black political party. Phil Hutchings, newly elected program secretary of SNCC, said in an interview printed in the July 10 *Times*: "It will not be the traditional political party giving you a choice between the lesser of two evils, but a party defined by black people filling the needs of black people."

The *Times* article goes on to state that the symbol of the new political party will be the black panther, and it explains that this symbol originated with the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Alabama in 1965 and was since adopted by the Black Panthers in Oakland and San Francisco.

The *Times* further quotes Hutchings: "We don't necessarily want a political party to win elections, but for black people to live better. Politics as Americans practice it—as well as this law and order and parliamentary rule—is designed to keep some white people on top and black people and poor whites on the bottom."

Regarding O'Dwyer's statement that if the Vietnamese refused a "standstill" offer, "the finger of blame" could be placed on them, Mrs. Garza said: "Such a scandalously reactionary stand should bring a protest from every opponent of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, from every American who recognizes that the only solution in Vietnam is the immediate withdrawal of every last American soldier from that country."

"The finger of blame," she added, "should be pointed not at the Vietnamese liberation fighters but at those who make proposals that whitewash the crime being committed against them."

Various forces within the antiwar movement, she noted, have argued that such Democratic candidates as O'Dwyer and McCarthy offer a meaningful way to oppose the war. As an example she pointed to a June 25 statement by the *Worker*, voice of the Communist Party, which asserted that as a result of O'Dwyer's victory, "the peace forces in New York will be provided with a new opportunity to reinvigorate their independent struggle to end the war."

"O'Dwyer's 'standstill' and 'finger-of-blame' stand," Mrs. Garza declared, "should help make clear that his campaign will serve not to 'reinvigorate' the struggle against the war, but to blunt and divert it."

"What it does suggest," she added, "is that now that he has utilized antiwar sentiment to win the Democratic nomination he may well be out to prove to the Democratic bosses that his Vietnam position isn't really so far out that they can't live with it."

Oakland march to back Huey Newton defense

BERKELEY—A demonstration to demand freedom for imprisoned Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton will take place Monday, July 15 in Oakland. Demonstrators will rally at 9:00 a.m. at Merritt College and then march to the Oakland courthouse, where the frame-up murder trial of Newton is due to begin.

Newton, who is minister of defense of the Black Panther Party, was indicted for murder following a police attack on him last October. During the struggle, a cop was killed, and Newton was seriously wounded.

The demonstration is being organized primarily by the Free Huey Committee and is supported by a wide range of groups, including the Peace and Freedom Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

On Sunday, July 14, the day before Newton's trial opens, there will be a rally to demand his release at 2:00 p.m. in Defermery Park, Oakland. Speakers will include James Forman of SNCC and Black Panther leaders Eldridge Cleaver, Kathleen Cleaver and Bobby Seale.

Camejo speaking tour set for July-August

Berkeley movement leader Peter Camejo will begin a brief nationwide speaking tour July 17 organized by the Young Socialist Alliance. Speaking on the recent Berkeley confrontation, Camejo will be in the following places at the times indicated:

New York, July 17-21; Wash. (D.C.), July 22-23; Atlanta, July 24-25; Philadelphia, July 26-27; Boston, July 28-29; Antioch College, July 30; Kent (Ohio), July 31.

Continuing into next month: Cleveland, Aug. 1-2; Detroit, Aug. 3-5; Madison (Wis.), Aug. 6; Bloomington (Ind.), Aug. 7; Champaign (Ill.), Aug. 8; Chicago, Aug. 9-10; Minneapolis, Aug. 11-12; Bay Area, Aug. 13-18; Portland (Ore.), Aug. 19-20; Seattle, Aug. 21-23.

Among highlights of the tour will be a Militant Labor Forum in New York City, at 873 Broadway, Fri., July 19; and a debate with "New Left" scholar Herbert Marcuse sometime in August in the Bay Area.



AT BOSTON DEMONSTRATION. Fred Halstead, just right of banner, on line of march to April 3 rally organized by Boston Resistance.

Halstead to make tour of Asia, Europe

By Doug Jenness

On July 30, Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and Barry Sheppard, editor of *The Militant*, will leave New York for Japan. This will be their first stop on an around-the-world trip that will take them to Vietnam, India, Jordan, Yugoslavia and several West European countries.

The purpose of the trip is to reach American GIs in Vietnam and at bases around the world with the antiwar program of the Socialist Workers presidential campaign. They also plan to attend antiwar meetings and conferences in Japan and other countries, and gatherings of revolutionaries and radicals. They plan to attend the conference of the German Socialist Student Federation in Yugoslavia early in September.

Halstead has been invited to attend three antiwar conferences in Japan during the Hiroshima and Nagasaki memorial-day period: the 23rd Atomic Bomb Disaster Anniversary World Conference Against A and H Bombs, sponsored by the Japan Congress Against A and H Bombs (Gen-suiken); the Two Nations Conference for Peace in Vietnam sponsored by the Japanese Peace for Vietnam Committee (Behei-ren); and the International Conference to End the War in Vietnam, sponsored by a number of youth organizations, including

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the militant Zengakuren (Sampa Rengo faction).

On Aug. 14 Halstead and Sheppard will fly to Saigon. They will discuss their views on the war with GIs and let them know there is one presidential candidate who wants to bring them home immediately.

An *Open Letter to GIs*, written by Halstead, has been circulated widely among GIs in the states and abroad. Halstead's visit to Vietnam is part of his overall campaign to reach GIs with the socialist alternative to all the capitalist politicians, including the "doves," who would keep them in Vietnam.

On Aug. 19, Halstead and Sheppard will leave for India and then travel to Europe. In Europe they will meet and talk with young militants from the growing European revolutionary youth movements of many countries.

The U.S. Departments of State and Defense and the South Vietnamese Embassy in Washington have been notified of Halstead's plans to visit Saigon, and steps have been taken to obtain visas and other necessary documents.

Although considerable funds have been raised for the trip, funds are still badly needed. One dollar will send Halstead and Sheppard three miles on their trip. Contribute now to help bring the Socialist Workers campaign to American GIs.